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TRAGIC PAGES.

CHAPTER 5.

This is the story of the 10th Annual Convention of the United Mine Workers' Union, held in Pittsburgh last week. It is a story stamped with crime, and peppered with corruption, as might be expected from a "pure and simple" arrangement like it, that was conceived in the womb of ignorance, hatched by fraud, and delivered by lawless, slimy with sins of treachery to their class, and now in its old age owned body and soul by the man who hates it—Mark A. Hanna.

Before describing the scenes of disorder that attended every working moment of the convention, the charges and counter charges, innuendos and insinuations of treachery that were hurled by both sets of fakirs at one another's head, let us take a glimpse of the chief moguls who stormed, swore, cursed, and raved at each other. First and foremost was a sleek, well-dressed gentleman on whose fair-round belly, with capon lined, there lay a gold chain that would moor a tug-boat. He was the President, Hanna's protegee, James D. Hatchford, of Massillon, Ohio. He is on the Industrial Commission; salary, \$3,600 a year and expenses. He puts off portions of the miners at the others' throat by his ignorant abuse of foreigners despite the fact that 50 per cent. of the miners were born in other climes, himself an Englishman. He is Hanna's agent as will be shown later.

Let us leave him temporarily and look at the next beauty-spot—Patrick MacBryde. Pat is another bediamonded swell; he is a wealthy saloon-keeper in Columbus, O. He is better acquainted with schooners than shovels, with pints than picks. Not having any more use for labor faking and the prestige it gives him as a politician, he did not take much part in the convention.

The next "representative" of the slaves of the pluck-me-store is another howling swell, John McBride no less, who knows more about labor faking than Gompers. He is the individual who was white-washed in 1894, when charged with selling out the strikers in that famous struggle. This gentleman has charge of the agents for a big publishing house.

Then we have Lewis, of Ohio, a lawyer practicing at the Ohio bar.

Then Keenan, of Illinois, tug-boat captain.

Next Fahy, of Schuylkill County, Pa., old party politician; Harrisburg lobbyist; all round fakir, and Dame Rumour has it that he never entered a shaft in his life.

Dolan—all round plug ugly; would sooner fight than eat—unless he meets a stronger man; would rather drink whiskey than lie; a coarse, stupid, illiterate Scotch-Irishman with all the vices of both countries and none of their virtues.

Next, Warner, of Brothel fame. Comrade Goff gives this pen-picture of him: "He has broad cloth, and diamonds, with toothpick shoes and silk hose, and dines in the swiftest restaurant in Pittsburgh, where it costs \$1.50 to smell the cook's breath, and is so economical with all that he can do it on his salary of \$75 per month."

To this collection of fakirs add the delegates of lesser light who were there paid by the operators for looking after the interests of the operators, as witness the charge of one of the "pure and simpler" from Illinois who said (I quote from the "Pittsburgh Press"): "Mr. Chairman, there are three scabs on this floor, whose expenses are paid by the operators." J. L. Lewis, of Ohio, rose to a point of order. And the delegate was prevailed upon to take his seat. He was an honest "pure and simpler" probably, who, when howled at by the fakirs did not have the nerve to go on. Then add a number of men who come there honestly expecting to do "good along pure and simple lines," ignorant of the fact that wages and politics are inseparable questions. To these add a half-dozen Socialist delegates who through stress of circumstances had to take the "Volkzeitung's" advice and as a result had a sultry time "boiling from within," and our readers can have a good idea of the personnel of the 10th Annual Convention of the United Mine Workers with Mark Hanna's man Friday presiding.

This story is not written for the purpose of abusing the fakirs in a spirit of petty spite. It is written so that the miners of America, who need organization worse than any other body of workers, can see as clear as they can see God's sun when they walk from the pit's mouth, that in the United Mine Workers' Union they are organized for their own slaughter, and, furthermore, that they are led by as black-hearted, corrupt and ignorant a set of crooks as ever sold out for gold since the day that Judas sold Christ for silver.

PROOFS? HERE:

When Hatchford called the convention to order he was in possession of the following facts:

1st. During the 10 years the United Mine Workers' was organized, the condition of the miner became steadily worse. The miners marched amidst the shadows of the willow trees of death. Every law that was passed in their interest was declared unconstitutional, as witness:

The Run of Mines bill;
The Checkweighman bill;
The Fortnightly Pay bill;
The bill ordering timber to be carried to the men in the mine;
And finally, foulest and most criminal decision of all, the bill abolishing

ing the pluck-me-store where the miners are bled of their pittance as the bull is bled in the shambles, was declared unconstitutional by the courts.

Ratchford and every fakir who supported him knew that the reason why these bills were killed was because ALL LEGISLATION IS CLASS LEGISLATION; hence, with Hanna and Rand and all the other operators crouching behind the ermine of the judges on the bench, death was the watch-word for each measure passed in the miners' interest. Knowing this, when Ratchford, stands knee deep in the slime of Republican politics, the politics of the class that the miners organize to fight, he is doing the job of the immense steer in the Chicago stock yards, that rushes down the yards enticing the timid cattle after him, then when the gate opens and leaves him in safety the poor blind cattle rush on to the shambles, to their death. The gate has opened for Ratchford with his \$3,600 job. His followers have run on to the shambles at Hazleton, at Pana, at Virden, etc., etc. THE PURE AND SIMPLE FAKIRS ARE BUNCO STEERERS.

Fact No. 2.—Ratchford and his crew knows that under the capitalist system—the continuance of which the Republican party, that he is an office-holder in, stands for—Labor is a commodity and is sold as such in the labor market, just as is the coal that the miners mine. He and his fellow fakirs know the condition of that labor market. Colonel Rand, of Illinois, says: "There are 400,000 coal miners and but 200,000 jobs."

Ratchford himself, under his own signature, says in his boycott circular: "Production, aided by mining machinery and other modern devices, is rapidly increasing, and is now far in excess of the market requirements, in fact the annual productive capacity of our mines is three times as great as our annual consumption."

This Ratchford, the labor leader, and Rand, the operator, both agree with the Socialists when we contend that there are far more miners than there are jobs, hence wages must go down. Absolute agreement on that fundamental point, mark you. But the remedy—ah, there is the rub.

Rand is silent.

Ratchford is silent.

The Socialist says: "This condition breeds Hazleton as dirt breeds lice. Vote the miner on the right side of the guns." This condition causes storms of opposition to arise from the miners. Under pure and simple tutorage the echoes of these storms are the dirges of defeat; the effect is an increase in the misery of our class. Whilst with our footstep lighted by the lamps of science, the echoes of the storms of our battles would be the songs of the victories of our class; and the effects, the carrying out of our historic mission, the mission of emancipating our class. Ratchford & Co. having no remedy, or at least mentioning none, let us come to their assistance, and take up the arguments of the party to which he is such a faithful henchman. "The law of supply and demand will settle it. When there are too many coal miners they will seek other fields." The devil they will. Where? On the wind-swept farms of the West? Poppy cock! The harvester and kindred machines are displacing the farm laborers so rapidly that INSTEAD OF THE MINERS GOING TO THE FARMERS, THE FARM LABORERS ARE GOING TO THE MINERS.

Will they go to the great cities, then? Seems to me, Mr. Fakir, that the cities are as bad as the farms. It is a choice between bad eggs. Thus the miner is bound to his patch, surrounded by a wall of circumstances, more difficult to climb than the walls of ancient Troy. In closing on this point, let me recommend, Mr. Ratchford, that you get a piece of card board and on it write:

"Coal miners' jobs—200,000.

"Coal miners—400,000."

Stick this card over the bed post of yourself and the rest of the fakir family so that it will be the last thing you will read when you retire; the first when you awake, and after thoroughly digesting it, you will know this truth, that if you don't understand it you should leave the labor movement for the labor movement's good, for you and your pure and simple tribe ARE IGNORAMUSES.

If you do understand it and continue in your Republican capitalist party, YOU ARE A TRAITOR AND WILL BE TREATED AS SUCH.

Ratchford & Co., you are traitors to the miners.

Having photographed the rascals, we will proceed with a review of the convention.

From the bang of the gavel, pandemonium reigned. The forces lined up as follows: Hanna Republican, anti-Hanna Republican, and Free Silverites, the latter of whom could more correctly be called, because of geographical situation, "any-old-things."

Ratchford led the Hannaites.

Lewis, also of Ohio, the anti-Hannaites.

Dolan, the Silverites, who formed a coalition with the anti-Hannaites. The fight started over the personnel of the Credential Committee. The Committee had been appointed by the President. The anti-Hannaites wanted one from each district. This row lasted for several days. Illinois controlled the convention. Mitchell, a comparatively unknown man, although within the past year he had sprung suddenly forward, was to be the new

President. This was the administration slate. Lewis and Dolan were also aspirants for the office. Ratchford, although from Ohio and elected President last time by Ohio votes, marched to the assistance of Mitchell, of Illinois, and thereby hangs a black tale with a moral all wool and a yard wide. A moral that all workers should understand, viz., that you might as well seek to separate the youth from his bride on the nuptial night as politics from the union. The capitalist class needs politics in their business: the pure and simple union, unlike the Socialist union, ignores the politics of their class and as a result has the politics of their masters injected into their unions through the labor fakir whom the bosses control. Hence this United Mine Worker row for the Presidency of that organization. Requesting the reader to hold on to that point as the ship holds to the sheet anchor in a gale we will move on and see who and what capitalist injected politics into the U. M. W. and the reasons therefor.

Mark A. Hanna, of Cleveland, O., is the biggest thing in National Capitalist Politics to-day. As Gulliver was in Lilliput—so is Mark in Washington. As a vote-getter on a gigantic scale, Hanna chastises the orchestra.

When his beady eyes scan the political chess board he notes one spot with the red lights of danger to his class stuck all around. That spot is the coal mining towns and patches—the Panas, the Virdens and Hazletons of the nation. Hanna in his cowardly heart fears these slaves of the mine. They have shown such a magnificent front in the face of repeated failure. Their flag of defiance has always been run up again after being trampled on in the mire of defeat. If it were indomitable spirit alone that Hanna had to deal with, he would be happy, but the danger is deeper. It lies in this fact that the coal miner is an industrial proletarian in his occupation and is agrarian in his environment. Hence he is not susceptible to the influences of the old party machinery as is the city proletarian, therefore Mark sees he must control the organization of the coal miner or have the flag of capitalism torn from its door and the flag of labor hoisted in its stead.

Hanna knew this as the tiger knows its prey, and he knew that every fakir in the land would do his bidding in the twinkling of an eye.

His first move was to have the Phillips bill, that that less astute politician, Cleveland had refused to sign, brought up again immediately Congress convened in 1898. The representatives from the cities, who depending on their political machines for keeping the workers in line for capitalism, did not bother about the Phillips bill, but, on the contrary, fought it. Then occurred that historic scene in Congress, when Senator Perkins, of California, arose and with intense dramatic earnestness read the declaration of principles of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance as follows:

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

WHEREAS, in the natural development of capitalism, the class struggle between the privileged few and the disinherited masses, which is the inevitable and irrepressible outcome of the wage system, has reached a point where the old forms, methods and spirit of labor organization are absolutely impotent to resist the aggressions of concentrated capital, sustained by all the agencies of government, and to effect any permanent improvement in the condition of the wage earners, or even to arrest for any length of time their steady and general degradation; and

WHEREAS, the economic power of the capitalist class, used by that class for the oppression of labor, rests upon institutions essentially political, which in the nature of things cannot be radically changed, or even slightly amended for the benefit of the working people, except through the direct action of the working people themselves, economically and politically united as a class;

THEREFORE, it is as a class, conscious of its strength, aware of its rights, determined to resist wrong at every step and sworn to achieve the complete emancipation of the wage workers are hereby called upon to unite in a solid body, held together by an unconquerable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle. As members of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance of the United States and Canada, we shall constantly keep in view the great end, namely, the summary ending of that barbarous struggle at the earliest possible time by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of class production, industry, war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

The Phillips bill passed both houses with an amendment making the majority of the members of the Industrial Commission members of Congress; then, to the astonishment of the uninitiated, Michael D. Ratchford, President of the United Mine Workers' Union, was appointed member of the Commission, and Greasy Gompers ceased boycotting \$100 cash registers long enough to shed an oily tear for the job that he had hoped for. The one labor fakir who had acted wisely was Hayes, of the K. of L. He came to Pittsburgh after receiving the tip as to Hanna's desire to control the coal miners; made a great splurge about the number of men he would organize; but Ratchford had the inside track and got there one month after Hayes' move on the coal miners, to be exact, on August 25, 1898.

Here we now see the first steps taken in capitalist politics that led up to the disgraceful scenes last week.

Having secured his man in the right job, Hanna owned Ratchford body and soul. Every drop of blood that coursed through his black heart belonged to Hanna. It did not take him long to see danger for his master arising from two places, Ohio and Pennsylvania: Lewis in one, Dolan in the other. Lewis is Hanna's implacable foe in Ohio politics. Dolan is a free silver man, an upholder of the silver mine barons who shoot down their men. Both had to be downed.

Lewis' fight with Hanna occurred this way. Lewis is a Republican poli-

tician in Ohio. He had the inside track for the nomination for State Senator to the House that was to elect a United States Senator. He threw in his lot with the anti-Hannaites, thinking that his influence with the coal miners, who hate Hanna, would elect him. But he reckoned without his host. Hanna's grip on the State machine was too strong, so down went Lewis, without the nomination. The miners were won over by an adroit move of Ratchford, who advised the sending of an agent to secure Warner in the Pittsburgh District as an ally for Hanna, as shown in Chapter 2 of the "Tragic Pages." Warner would sell his mother's heart for money, so of course he, as expected, jumped into the fight for Hanna. Dolan refusing, having other things in view. This is the secret of the split between Dolan and Warner. Dolan lining up with Lewis of Ohio, and Warner with Mitchell of Illinois.

The Pittsburgh District is in a tumult; in consequence, the district convention that will be held next month will see a repetition of the scenes at the national convention. Thus does the Hanna spider stalk through the United Mine Workers, locally as well as nationally.

So much for Lewis. Now as to Dolan. Dolan is a "free silverite," and as such is a danger to Hanna. True it is that Dolan knows no more about bi-metalism than a pig does of calisthenics; but were he elected President of the U. M. W. U. he would be of invaluable assistance to the silver mine barons when the gush of the 1900 campaign commences to boom. Hence the forces of the United Mine Workers were thrown into Illinois, so as to elect Mitchell of the Hanna camp. Unions sprang up like mushrooms in the night, and matters were manipulated so that, although—as Lewis claimed—Ohio paid three-eighths of all the per capita tax received from the 13 States represented in the convention, Illinois had 100 more votes, dominated the convention and elected Mitchell, Gold Standard Hanna Republican, President of the United Mine Workers' Union for the ensuing year.

These are the reasons condensed in the briefest possible space for the wild, turbulent scenes that have added still further disgrace to the already disgraceful record of the British pure and poor, and simple unionism in America.

After reading this story one of the conclusions that may be drawn from it by the revolutionary proletarian of the land is this: that when the Socialist Labor party in its national convention, held in New York City in 1896, endorsed the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance it placed one of the mightiest gems in the crown of Socialist achievements; a gem that will shine with equal lustre beside the achievement of our German comrades who, realizing that the economic organizations of the working class must be controlled by the political organizations of the working class, went into the Schultze-Deitch unions with clubs under their coats and broke them up physically.

And while more pacific measures may and can be adopted in this country, in this generation, willy-nilly by one way or another the impure and simple union must go, to be supplanted by the S. T. & L. A. The miners must be rescued from the vampires who bleed them. Mark Hanna and the silver mine barons must be given notice to quit. If Hanna collects the dues for the fakirs in his Panhandle mine, it is only another proof of his connection with them. Before the spirit of the miners is broken we must organize them. They must be taught that it is better to pay 1 cent per month per capita into a class-conscious Socialist organization than 18 cents to fakirs; they must be taught the power of the Socialist ballot; they must be taught that in the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance they can organize as well as in the old trades union only so much better, because they will be led by men who burn the midnight oil in study, instead of in the wine room of a brothel; they will be led by men to whom the workings of the capitalist system is as an open book.

Again must the miner learn that we can boycott in the S. T. & L. A. as well as in the old trades union, only so much better because we have a powerful growing political party behind us, knit together with bonds of the purest and closest solidarity—the solidarity of an oppressed class. Similarly can we strike.

Then, finally, these care-worn, toil-stained slaves of the mines must learn that while organizing, striking, and boycotting for 364 days in the year we will be drilling, teaching, educating and uplifting them for another strike, a strike not for a nickel or two more in their pay, or an hour less work in the day, but a strike worthy of the great century at whose gateways we are standing. A strike for the honor of our women, a strike for the chivalry of our men, a strike at the ballot box for the land, the mines, the tools of production. Finally, they must learn that in that form of organization alone lies the hope of permanently benefiting their condition. It is only when under the beneficent influence of New Trades Unionism they march to the conquest of the public powers that the sunlight of success will shine at their banners. Then can the miners take their care-worn wives by the hand, march to the mouth of the mine, take possession of the mine and have at their back the National Guard of their State.

The United Mine Workers' Union planted the miners to front the guns at Pana, Virden, and Hazleton. The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance will plant them behind the guns—with the Hannas in the front.

Get in the game, miners!
Throw your fakirs!
Build up the Alliance!
Speed the day of your emancipation.
T. A. HICKEY.

CAPITALIST CONCENTRATION IN AGRICULTURE.

The first inquiry into the tenure of land in this country was made in 1880. It disclosed the fact that of the 4,068,907 farms and plantations reported in that year, 1,024,601—or over 25 per cent.—were cultivated by tenants. It was at the same time shown by the table of occupations that of the 7,670,493 persons reported as engaged in agriculture 3,323,876 were "agricultural laborers," while a large portion of the 1,850,223 persons reported simply as "laborers" under the head of "professional and personal services" were also, according to a footnote in the census, "agricultural laborers." From these two facts it therefore appeared, in flat contradiction of all previous notions concerning the independence of our agricultural population, that in 1880 about 5 persons in 8 were not the owners of the land which they cultivated. Nevertheless, the false impression that the land was not undergoing the same process of concentration that was already then noticeable in all the other means of production, not only continued to prevail but was reinforced by the remarkable statement of Prof. Walker, Superintendent of the Censuses of 1870 and 1880, namely, (1) that the "average size of farms," including improved and unimproved lands, had been steadily decreasing from 199 acres in 1860 to 153 in 1870, and 134 in 1880; and (2) that the "average area of improved land in farms"—meaning thereby, if it meant anything, the average number of acres of improved land held by one person as owner or tenant—had decreased from 80 acres in 1860 to 71 acres in 1880.

In an exhaustive analysis of the census figures, made by L. Sanial, and published in the Tenth Report of the New York Bureau of Labor Statistics (1893), it was shown that the "averages" of Prof. Walker were arithmetical fictions, produced by entirely ignoring the conditions under which 900,000 "new farms" had been created in the Southern States after the abolition of slavery. As regards these States and these "new farms," it was shown that the enfranchised slaves had been converted into three classes: One class numbered about 600,000 "tenants," who cultivated "on shares" a portion of the land owned by their former masters. The second class was composed of about 300,000 "farm owners," whose holdings as such, however, were very small, chiefly ranging from 3 to 25 acres. As to the third one, numbering at least 2,000,000, it was entirely composed of "agricultural laborers," working for wages. Leaving aside this new tenantry and this new proprietary, formidable numerically but insignificant economically and created under the abnormal conditions brought about by the abolition of chattel slavery, by the abolition of chattel slavery, it was found that both in the South and in the North the real average quantity of "improved land" held by one person as owner (which is from a true economic standpoint the actual "average" size of farms) had actually—and contrary to Prof. Walker's misstatement—increased instead of decreased. In the South it increased only 4 per cent. from 1860 to 1880, but in the North and West, where no great political or social revolution interfered with the economic development, it increased nearly 36 per cent. during the same period.

By the same analysis it was shown that in the New England States, from 1860 to 1880, the number of farmers decreased 23,000, but the number of farm laborers increased 24,000, the decrease on one side and the increase on the other being nearly equal, so that every farmer that disappeared was replaced by a farm laborer. In the meantime, however, the "improved land" increased 922,000 acres; and this gives us some idea of the addition made to the "efficiency of labor" by agricultural machinery, even on the rocky soil of New England, where such machinery

cannot be used to the same extent as in more favored regions.

Likewise (or still worse) in New York State, the number of farmers decreased 13,300, but the number of farm laborers increased only 10,000, while the area of improved land increased 3,360,000 acres, or about 23 per cent. Nor was this all; we quote:

"The number of farms under 10 acres—the 'poverty farms,' upon which here and there one among many a country mechanic and agricultural laborer has built or inherited a shanty, keeps a cow and raises some vegetables—increased 1,835 in New York State, while the farms of more than 500 acres, the bonanza farms of this State, increased 1,351. On the other hand, the number of farms ranging from 10 to less than 100 acres, that require a fair agricultural equipment to eke out of the soil a scanty living by the hard personal labor of the owners and their families, decreased 18,706; while those ranging from 100 to 500 acres, worked chiefly by wage labor, with costly machinery, adequate live stock, extensive accommodations and ready cash, increased 40,325." It is quite evident that Prof. Walker's method of "averaging with a vengeance" produces results the very reverse of actual facts.

Pennsylvania, with an increase of 3,000,000 acres in improved land, showed an increase of only 14,000 farmers as against 31,000 farm laborers. Ohio, with an increase of 5,500,000 acres to its cultivated area, showed an increase of 38,000 farmers as against 55,000 farm laborers. In brief, every State in the North Atlantic, Northern Central and Western groups, shows the same tendency, either to an actual decrease in the number of farmers, or to an increase of much less proportion than the area improved; but in all cases a tendency to a disproportionate increase in the number of agricultural laborers as compared with the number of farmers.

The further progress of capitalistic concentration in Agriculture from 1880 to 1890 is shown to some extent and in various ways by the foregoing figures. It has been so great during this period that although the Walker method of "averaging with a vengeance" was continued in the census of 1890, the general "average size of farms," arrived at in simply dividing the total farm area by the total number of farms, shows an increase (from 134 to 137 acres) for the first time in the history of the country. In so far as one of the effects of concentration, at the present stage of development reached by capitalistic agriculture, is the growth of that kind of sweating system which is termed "tenantry," the following figures are highly instructive:

1.—That of the total number of farms, 25.5 per cent. in 1880, and 28.4 per cent. in 1890, were held by tenants.

2.—That of the total number of farms under 100 acres, 33.1 per cent. in 1880, and 35.3 per cent. in 1890, were held by tenants.

3.—That of the total number of farms over 100 acres, 16.2 per cent. in 1880, and 20.3 per cent. in 1890, were held by tenants.

4.—That of the total number of farms of less than 50 acres, 45 per cent. in 1880, and 44 per cent. in 1890, were held by tenants. This small—and we need not say, miserable—tenantry, was chiefly located in the Southern States, where it was the best product of the abolition of slavery. With the introduction of agricultural machinery, it is, of course, bound to disappear very rapidly.

5.—That while the total number of farms of all sizes increased only 555,734, or 13.86 per cent., the number of farms occupied by the tenants increased from 1,024,601 to 1,294,913, or 26.3 per cent. The increase in the number of tenanted farms was 270,312, or very nearly one-half of the total increase of farms.—LUCIEN SANIAL, in "Socialist Almanac."

WON'T BE MUZZLED.

HOLYOKE, Mass., Jan. 24.—The power of a correct Socialist education, as exemplified by the Socialist Labor party, is never fully realized until one has occasion to make a practical test of it. And we can not be too grateful to our teachers who have so patiently opened up the great reservoirs of knowledge to us plain workmen and enabled us thereby to take our stations in the councils of the world with success and honor to our great masters, who taught us that knowledge is power.

These thoughts came to me very forcible when I took my seat in the Board of Aldermen in this City of Holyoke.

There I was among manufacturers, merchants, and men of money and of education, men with whom I seldom, if at all, associate because they and I are separated by deep-reaching class distinction and class interests. Instinctively we feel that we are enemies, though most of my colleagues do not know the reason why. It will be my painful duty to teach them this important lesson of our life. The President of the Board, Mr. Arthur M. French, Superintendent of the Linden Paper Company, attempted at the last meeting of the Board to muzzle me. But Socialists can not be muzzled. I have resorted to the public press to say all I cared to say in the matter. If Mr. French goes further, I shall go further, and organize street meetings to utter

the convictions of the class I represent; we shall then see who comes out second best.

Our mutual relations in the Board have as yet been too brief to show any decided effect. The press—we have five regular reporters: "Transcript," "Globe-Democrat" and "Telegram," of Holyoke; these and the "Springfield Republican" and the "Union," have treated me very fair and reported correctly what took place. In the second house, (as it is called), the audience has been very large and attentive. The measures that have been offered so far have been mostly of a routine nature and unimportant except a motion to sell the Holyoke and Westfield Railroad, which is controlled by majority stock owned by the City of Holyoke. I sized this up as "A MOVE OF THE RAILROAD CORPORATIONS UPON THE CHESS BOARD OF SPECULATION."

This seemed to arouse the anger of quite a number of Aldermen and hence the attempt to prevent me from doing any more talking that night. I offered a scheme to consolidate our two railroads by building a union depot, in order to give work to at least 500 men for one year. This was tabled by a vote of 15 against 4. More later.

M. RUTHER.

Hugo Vogt lectures this evening, 8 p. m., on "Labor Legislation" at Sylvan Hall, 2314 Second avenue, corner 119th street, this city. Admission free.

THE PEOPLE.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)..... 3,068
In 1892 (Presidential)..... 12,221
In 1896 (Presidential)..... 21,157
In 1900 (Presidential)..... 22,153
In 1904 (Presidential)..... 26,564
In 1908 (Presidential)..... 55,673

To issue from primitive simplicity and suddenly to grow enormously rich threatens immorality and ruin. This we now witness in the United States.
E. DE LAVELEYE.

TWO OF A KIND—JONES AND CHASE.

Last week, Mr. Samuel M. Jones, the Republican Mayor of Toledo, O., delivered an address in this city to a workingmen's organization. What happened there is worthy of note. Mr. Jones spoke in impassioned strains on the sufferings of the working people and the tyranny of the capitalists; he did not indulge in generalities merely, he waxed concrete; he pronounced himself a Socialist, pointed to the growth of Socialist sentiment in the land, the wisdom and justice of Socialism, and to Socialism as the solution of the human problem. Two of the workingmen present, class-conscious and experienced—hopeful to find indeed a member from the ranks of the enemy graduate into and join the revolution, yet too wise to accept words and phrases at their face value—decided to test the Mayor with two questions; they asked:

"Why do you not join the Socialist Labor party; do you recognize the class struggle?"

A Black Crook transformation was not to be compared with the completeness and suddenness of the transformation that Mr. Jones underwent. Up to that moment, he had been bland and unctuous, gentle and suave; soon as the question was put he was an altered man. He grew livid and red with rage, and in boisterous, defiant, petulant and even rough language denounced the idea of "arraying class against class," the "employee against the employer," and the political party that was guilty of such wretchedness.

The cat was out of the bag. Mr. Jones' Socialism was clap-trap.

The game would not be worth the candle merely to hold up this Toledo Mayor as a political charlatan; it would not be worth the candle even to utilize the incident as mere evidence of the growing popularity of the word "Socialism." There is a much deeper lesson to be learned, one of weight in the understanding of the anatomy of the situation, and, consequently, of the caution that the situation demands, and the tactics that such situation renders imperative.

That there is a political break-up going on in the country is evident. The industrial or economic development, that congests capital more and more into few hands, is lashing the masses of the people into rebellion. Of these masses, one portion, the lesser, is substantially class-conscious; that portion is the middle class—the would-be plutocrats who have fallen in the race; the larger portion, the working class, is still substantially class-unconscious. As a result of this, the capitalist and the middle class are organizing upon hostile political platforms into hostile political groups. Left to themselves, the middle class, being more numerous, might easily overthrow the capitalist class. But at this stage a complication steps in. There stands the working class, more numerous than both capitalist and middle class put together, and—ARMED WITH THE BALLOT. That is a quarry for votes. The class that can chip off for itself the largest portion of workingmen's votes must be the victor. Hence a scramble therefor. The tactics adopted by each is but the consequence of its special economic condition.

The capitalist class, as was seen during the McKinley campaign, need comparatively little buncombe; all it has to do is quietly, but firmly, tighten the screws on its employees: threaten them with lock-outs if its middle class political adversary wins; and, it having the largest number of wage slaves, rely in that way upon victory.

The middle class, on the contrary, being, not by reason of its humanity, but by reason of its inferior capital, unable to exploit as many workingmen, has set upon the working class the economic lever of influence that is in the hands of the upper capitalists. The middle class, accordingly, must resort to other methods in order to attract to itself the Labor Vote needed to prevail. Its methods are buncombe. Hence the political oratory of the middle class is the most misleading,

the most insincere, the most fraudulent—it partakes of the nature of birdlime to attract and trepan the workman.

Watched by the light shed by these facts, much that is otherwise obscure in the political apparitions of the day will become luminous; and the two Mayors of Toledo and Haverhill—Samuel M. Jones and John C. Chase—will not only be understood but will shed light on each other.

Both declaim against "capitalism"; but what both mean by that is, not the SYSTEM OF EXPLOITATION, but the exploitation of the middle class by the upper capitalists,—as exemplified by the Toledo gentleman, when he grows irate at the idea of a war upon the EMPLOYER CLASS; and as likewise exemplified by the Haverhill gentleman, when he takes his stand upon a platform that expressly pledges itself to protect the small farmers in their exploitation of labor, and when his party men spend their time in the Common Council voting for a reduction of the rate of interest from 7 to 5 per cent., a wholly middle class affair. Consequently both rear at the Class Struggle,—a principle that heads straight against the class they represent, by aiming at the abolition of all classes.

Again, both—their flanks and rear covered by the middle class—turn their main attention to the workman as a VOTER, and, consequently, as indispensable food for their cannon,—as exemplified by the conduct of the Haverhill gentleman and his Haverhill companions in arms, when they are seen pushing themselves forward at labor meetings, as at Rockland, Marlboro, etc., and there, instead of, even at the risk of temporarily displeasing the workmen, educating them out of their economic errors, talking to them approvingly of all the economic will-o'-the-whisks that these have been following to their sorrow, and thus seeking to insinuate themselves into the worker's good graces by flattering his superstitions; and as likewise exemplified by the Toledo gentleman when he is seen straining to rope in Socialist Labor party men of his own town, and here in New York pulls the strings for an opportunity to address labor organizations; and both wrap themselves in the cloak of Socialism—a term that, thanks to the conduct of the Socialist Labor party, is earning wide esteem for its soundness and character.

Toledo and Haverhill, the Joneses and the Chases are well worth close study; they are identical apparitions, peculiar to our political soil and atmosphere. Understood, they are valuable; misunderstood, no siren-capped rock is more fraught with danger for the welfare of the proletariat or the solution of the Social Question.

TRULY DISGRACEFUL.

Richard Croker, the ex-plug-ugly, now capitalist and recognized leader of Tammany Hall, has inflicted upon the good name of America many a stain; the dirtiest though he inflicted last week. Said he:

From the South and West there always comes the hue and cry against New York, because it is the money-centre of the United States. But whenever there is any great public improvement to be made in any section of this country, the first look for help is toward New York. They rush to our great city to raise the money. They come here for the means to build their railroads, to construct their water works, to erect the plants for gas service, and bond their cities for any kind of improvement. Then, no matter how much benefit is derived from this section of the country, there is always the same howl against the great city that is the money centre—that very centre without which public improvement would be an impossibility.

The stain upon the fair name of America, consists, paradoxically enough, in the truth of Croker's words.

Here we have a large population, powerful in brain and brawn, inventive, industrious, actively inclined, and yet impotent to do the things they need unless given permission to do so; nay, worse yet, unless they consent to be bled.

Money builds nothing. It is labor—labor of mind and hands—that builds all. All the money in the world could not build a mole-hill; labor alone can and does produce mountainous wealth. What is it binds this Giant, laying it helpless at the feet of the Money Bags?—The capitalist system of production.

Capitalism implies individual production in so much as the tools of production are private property. The unavoidable result of this starting point is the need and the power of money. Organized co-operatively, society is emancipated from the Money Power; left to individual production, society is the slave of the Money Power. Society organized co-operatively, Labor is the starting point, society left to capitalism Money is the starter.

The Tammany ex-plug-ugly is right. Those who uphold tyranny should be the last to howl at its workings; those who uphold capitalism certainly can not with good grace howl at its effects. That this truth should be told, and insinuatingly at that, to the American people by a Croker Money Bag should be enough to cause the scales to drop from the eyes of the genuine patriot and cause the Croker system to be drowned under the waves of oblivion.

H. B. Keinard will lecture next Friday, February 3, at 8 p. m., on "Socialist Agitation" at 200 East Broadway, this city.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC.

Advertisers study to catch the public eye; they must please; they eschew everything that repels; they are adepts in the art of attracting. Not a little insight can be got into men and things by a study of advertisements. In view of this what an insight into the morals that capitalism breeds, and its Church-like fosters, does not the below advertisement of a certain firm in the Springfield, Mass., "Republican" afford to those who have the eyes to see: PEACE AND WAR.

Life and death, success or failure, defeat or victory, humanity against humanity. Misery of one is peace for another. Terms of peace, conquer or die. Kill or to be killed in time of peace is the destruction of another. He who prescribes peace is greater than he who breaks it. We make arms, study their art, destroy to preserve. We build prisons, erect scaffolds, inflict punishment, go to the gallows. Business is war. One continuous fight. We lead or we must be led. We fight to lead. Our neighbor's failure brings us success. This is human progress.

PEACE AND WAR.

The San Francisco, Cal., "Class Struggle" quotes a Japanese student, who, after extensive studies of European and American books on political economy, put the case tersely thus:

These books deal with buying and selling, banking, money, and methods of TRADING. MINUTELY THE ART OF EXTRACTING THE HONEY WITHOUT ALARMING THE HIVE.

In biology we see off and on an old, old type recurring, a specimen that is out of keeping with its surroundings and is a freakish repetition of olden days. The phenomenon is known as "atavism." As in biology, so also, it would seem, in capitalist journalology. How else is the following passage to be explained from the Newburgh, N. Y., "Daily Press":

The propaganda of the Socialists in Newburgh is the most active of any political organization. Every Sunday afternoon they hold meetings, to which everyone is invited cordially. The wonder of this is where the Socialists come from. They are not "laborers" who pay for their expenses, but in the absence of specific information that would be a waste of time. Perhaps the members of the Socialist party are pure patriots who stake "their lives" for their fortunes and their sacred honor, "on the ultimate success of their political ideas, and thus occupy a place equally high with the men who signed the Declaration of Independence over one hundred years ago. But every one who has had any political education knows that the dominant party in this State has, more than once, maintained an annex designed to draw votes from the Democracy. Of course we do not mean to be understood as making the assertion that the Socialists are sustained, because we cannot do so, having absolutely no proof that such is the case.

Years ago, the suspicion was common that the S. L. P. was in the pay of one of the old parties to pull away votes from the other, and the poverty of the party's membership gave a color to the calumny: Its utterances could not understand how men could understand their material interests so well as to give their time and efforts to a movement like the Socialist without remuneration; trained to the dull and stupid ways of Old Party methods, the traducers of the S. L. P. could not comprehend the force of intelligent political activity. But that time passed away. The transparent probity of the S. L. P. lived down all suspicion; such may now be said to have wholly died away; and one is reminded thereof only by such occasional atavistic utterances as the one above quoted.

The London, England, "Justice" sizes up well the dangers that lurk under the present expansion mania when it says:

We are glad to see that there are still many Americans—quite possibly the majority—who are opposed to the anti-democratic and brutalizing imperialism which, if persisted in, must break up the great Republic. Democracy is the only sound basis for the future of the world, and no such a very long, run quite incompatible. If the Philippines are to be butchered for demanding independence in the Pacific, working Americans will doubtless be slaughtered for demanding independence at home.

Under the happy title "Tolstol Klasses Nicholas," the Minneapolis, Minn., "Tocsin" comments upon the recent fratricidalization of these two men, and sums up with the felicitous remark:

Humanity is all right. But unguided by sound and certain knowledge (which the Tolstols as well as the Steads notably lack) it is as likely to do harm as good. The sentimentalist can always be caught by sweet words. And no one can use sweet words better than the mendacious "autocrat of all the Russias." For us, cold, matter-of-fact materialists that we are, we judge Nicholas to be by his recent professions of desire for peace, but by his whole career of heartless and bloody tyranny.

Less felicitous, however, do we find our talented colleague in the article in which, correctly confuting the sweeping statement that unionism is to-day a dream, it says:

Any one who is acquainted with the facts in regard to the working of any one of the stronger unions—as, for instance, the Typographical—must know that these organizations are of great service to their members.

"To their members?"—The sentence should rather read: "To those of their members who have been lucky enough to keep their jobs." So worded, the sentence would have covered the case, and been suggestively true.

A report of ex-President Prescott himself recently admitted that about 10,000 members of the Typographical Union were out of work; and other reports from large number of towns corroborate the statement, adding the confirmatory evidence of "old clothes," etc., being asked for from the union offices in behalf of these victims of the machine.

Here we have a Union, that, owing to special conditions of its trade, has long escaped the ravages of the machine; the storm finally strikes it, but in "striking it" actually strikes individual members, does not strike it as a

body; ALL the members gave the Union the prestige it enjoyed and thanks to which SOME manage to keep good jobs, but, despite the fact that the good luck of THESE is the result of the combined efforts of ALL, the good luck is enjoyed by the lucky individuals only, leaving the others in the cold.

An Indian and a Yankee, so runs the story, went into partnership for a hunting expedition. The net result of their joint efforts was a turkey and an owl. It came to dividing the spoils. Said the Yankee to the Indian: "You take the owl and I take the turkey; or, I take the turkey and you the owl." The story closes with the Indian muttering: "But he don't say turkey once to me."

This Indian at least muttered; do those members of the International Typographical Union, whose share in the spoils is the owl of "out-of-work," even mutter?

The suggestiveness of the sentence, as amended, lies in that it calls attention to the attitude of the unlucky members of the Union: they are loyal to it, despite the treatment it allots to them. And the further suggestiveness of the amended sentence lies in that it points to the question, How long will this blind loyalty last?

The posture of these disinherited members towards their Union is very much like that of the Proletariat at large towards the Nation, or rather, its form and system of Government. Protected of old by the Nation under its capitalist system, the Proletariat still cling to it despite the treatment it now bestows upon them; they cling to it blindly; but one day, and that day is at hand, the scales will fall from their eyes; and discovering that the idol they had worshipped, or has developed into, a monster, they will turn upon and smash it. So with the unlucky members of the Typographical Union; and hence it is that the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is perfectly justified in denouncing as "union wreckers" the pack of misleaders that to-day are "union leaders."

If the Spokane, Wash., "Freeman's Journal" does not look out it will become an idealizer of the capitalist class. This is what it says:

Now it must be remembered that the land monopolist who holds this land performs no service to earn the wealth he appropriates. He, as such, employs no labor and creates no wealth and is a parasite living off the industry of his more thrifty neighbors.

If this means anything, it means that the man, who holds capital and whose only "labor" is to skin the workers, is not a parasite. At this rate, we may soon expect to see the Vanderbilts and Goulds, the Sages and Morgans, the Rothschilds and Drexels canonized and pictorially reproduced with halos around their heads.

We will give our Government as many soldiers as it needs to execute the law, and if it is not strong enough to do so, we will change the law by outwitting the friends of law and order. But until they do this, they may be sure that every Chicago riot will be collared and choked to death by the Federal arm. As many soldiers as we need against foreign war or domestic insurrection is not a soldier more, not a man less. No rain and cant about "a standing army" will ever again make us defenseless.

We won't find any fault with the above from the Portland, Ore., "Oregonian." When it refers to the working class demanding its right as "riotous strikers and other outlaws," it and we stand respectively in pretty good historic company: It is not many hundred years ago when one Col. Pitcairn approached the Minute-men in arms at Lexington with the peremptory command: "Lay down your arms, ye rebels." We may indulge the "Oregonian" in its pleasure of ranking itself with the Col. Pitcairns of history; no doubt the working class has no objection to take its corresponding place along the Lexington Minute-men.

The reason of this extraordinary and exceptional display of kindness on our part towards the class of the modern Col. Pitcairns is the good advice the "Oregonian" gives: "Go to the polls and change the law."—Correct.

The vote of Texas, as officially announced, is larger than expected.

G. H. Royal, for Governor, polls 562 votes; E. Bellinger, for Lieutenant-Governor, 562.

The Canadian S. L. P. has done well during the recent municipal contests. It placed candidates in the field in four cities in Ontario and polled an aggregate of nearly 2,000 votes, as follows: London, 709; Hamilton, 283; Brantford, 250; Toronto, 706. Total, 1,948.

Likewise, in Boston, did the vote rise considerably at the municipal election of last December. The officials took their time to announce the S. L. P., it is only now known and is encouraging indeed: Martha Moore Avery, School Committee, 8,836; an increase of 2,156 over 1897. Stephen O'Shaughnessy, Street Commissioner, 2,778; increase of 1,215 over 1897. Aldermen: William R. Dyer, 1,888; Godfred Beck, 1,884; Joseph Ballam, 1,784; Samuel Freedman, 1,526; Joseph Murphy, 1,288; Henry C. Hees, 1,208; George Giguere, 1,140; Leon Greenman, 1,127; Florentin Theobault, 709; Jay Robert Simmons, 691; Charles M. Langen, 645; Herman W. A. Raasch, 615. The Aldermen are elected at large, each party being required to nominate 12 candidates; citizens only voting for 7, thus requiring the party that is victorious to defeat 5 of their candidates. Counting every seven ballots cast for Aldermen as one voter, 2,065 citizens have voted our Aldeermanic ticket; an average increase of 569 over 1897.

EAGAN-MILES.

The Eagan-Miles controversy is to the initiated a fine illustration of the truth of a certain proverb that runs something like this: "When thieves fall out honest men are told the truth."

Mr. Miles, posing as the "friend of the soldier," has made statements regarding the quality and condition of the beef issued to the privates during the late war, tending to show that said beef was not of good quality, and that it was "unpalatable."

Thereupon Mr. Eagan, who issued said beef gets black in the face and calls Miles a liar, in fact says Miles is a wilful, malicious liar.

Thereupon the New York "Journal," that palladium of the liberties of the common people, takes the side of Mr. Miles and sticks out its tongue at Mr. Eagan. All of which is highly entertaining and instructive.

Miles and Eagan are products of the Army, both Army officers, one of the line the other of the staff; both, as such, trained by hard experience to make a dollar go as far as it can, forced as "gentlemen and officers" to live beyond their salaries, and both forced as "officers and gentlemen" to make up the deficiency in the only possible way, i. e., by robbing the privates either directly by swiping the rations and sustenance that belong to the men (this species of robbery is in vogue on the frontier where pickings are small), or indirectly by contracting for poor quality of food and sustenance at fancy prices, and then "diving" with the contractor.

Now, the "staff" cannot steal without the "line" knowing of it, and when any stealing is being done ALL officers at a post get their share of the spoils. Such stealings are looked upon as the rightful perquisites of an "officer and gentleman" and is universal in Army, Navy and Marine Corps. Mr. Miles belongs to the "line," Mr. Eagan to the "staff," both are graduates of posts, forts and barracks, both know that "soup and bully," i. e., canned roast beef, has been issued in the past; both know it is rotten when put up in cans and gets more rotten with age; both know that the "sow belly" or bacon that has been issued to soldiers in time of peace was stuff that no decent dog would rub up against; both know that rations during Indian wars in the Southwest were unfit to eat and that the larger would be thrown away; both know that the troops in the field have been "experimented" on by Miles himself, with various freak rations; both know that some men have died because Miles "experimented" with "desiccated," "embalmed," and other kinds of beef; and both know in their hearts that they are equal in humbuggery. Why then this thushness?

Miles is an individual who has in some obscure paper at some time been "mentioned" as a "good man for President." Since then he has constantly employed an advertising agent and has made himself as prominent and notorious as he could; and when for his dirty work at Chicago he was promoted over others and made Commanding General he went altogether daffy, there has been no holding him.

He, and his advertising agent, saw in the war a chance for Miles to attain notoriety. So, shortly after the declaration of war, the papers of Washington began to teem with accounts of how General Miles was to "start for the front to-morrow"; then in the next issue would deny the report and say he would leave "to-morrow" incidentally puffing Miles.

Miles had made himself a nuisance to the powers that be by eternally making an ass of himself. They decided to cook his goose altogether by shelving him—not that they feared him so very much, but he really had become ridiculous, and pushing some other General to the front.

They found it expedient to get Miles out of Washington, so one night he "started for the front" in a special car with a special porcelain-lined bathtub, a special stenographer, kindly loaned by Sammy Gompers, and a bevy of servants. Three days after he was back. Then he was sent off again, and to crown his troubles, he was sent on that "Opera bouffe" expedition to Porto Rico.

Realizing how he had been made a monkey of, and how contemptuously—though deservedly so—he had been treated, he grew reckless and commenced to talk out of school, for the purpose of "getting even" with Alger, McKinley, et al.

Mr. Miles is a disappointed and discredited tool of the capitalist class, willing in the past, and even now, to commit murder in their interest, yet posing as the friend of the common man to get the common man to wreak vengeance on those who have made a monkey of him.

Go to Nelson, you will get soundly thrashed, and those trumpet papers who claim to represent the common people and who now so conveniently forget how in the past you were so ready and apt at devising schemes whereby this same common people could be easily murdered "en masse," won't save you, you have become a nuisance, you want too much.

ARTHUR KEEP.

The Kansas City Ghost-Dance.

[Written for THE PEOPLE by William Doran, Jersey City, N. J.]

There was a loud sound, of the cymbal and labor. When gathered, the Great Fakiration of The delegates came all prepared for to show. How well they could vary, the game of Much wit and invention. Buncos. Did grace the convention. There was an applauding furor, Decoy ducks, skates, fakirs and heelers, The Press advertised it galore.

But what was the outcome? I hear a loud shout come. The question a trifle too much; For the Lord only knows. Though you're free to suppose, Arbitration, "berruthers" and such.

But there was the finest collection of Ever seen, heard or read of in papers or books.



Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan.

Uncle Sam—Think of the wretchedness that there is and the happiness that there could be! A look at the papers should be enough to turn every decent man into a Socialist.

Brother Jonathan—But you Socialists are not going to change things. You are altogether too ideal; you make no allowance for hard, practical human nature; according to you men should be angels, or are angels. Now that will never do, it surely won't go down with so matter-of-fact a race as our Anglo-Saxon race.

U. S.—(with a look of resignation)—Well, that would settle the Socialist. By the way, did you catch much fish yesterday in the bay?

B. J. (enthusiastically)—Did I? We caught more than we could carry.

U. S.—What did you fish for particularly?

B. J.—Bass. Our reels were kept a-going all the time. They bit as soon as the hook got under water. Sport! I tell you we had sport!

U. S.—It is a great fish for sport, I understand.

B. J. (with increasing enthusiasm)—Sport? Why, that's no word for it! Some of these fellows will keep you busy rolling them in, and then letting out again for 10 minutes and more. You have to play them fine; (his eye glistening with the sport's delight) there's nothing like it for all around fun!

U. S.—And they are a pretty fish to look at, are they not?

B. J.—Yes; a good-sized bass is a fine bit of workmanship; graceful lines, beautiful shades of color.

U. S.—How does it compare with a trout?

B. J.—In one way not as pretty; but the two are not to be compared.

U. S.—The bass is larger, is it not?

B. J.—Why yes; the smallest bass is larger than a good-sized trout.

U. S.—Then the bass must furnish a pretty good meal?

B. J.—I should stutter! Take a 15-pound bass, and boil it, and eat with caper sauce; (smacking his lips) 'tis a dish for the Gods!

U. S. (seemingly to be deeply interested in bass)—And would fill a man's belly, would it not?

B. J.—Fill? I should stutter again!

U. S.—Do you think that to have full bellies all around would be good thing for our people, instead of so many going around hungry, with their bellies pulled so tight that the buckles thereof rub up against their back-bones?

B. J. (with a gesture of impatience)—Now, there you have the Socialist again! Always thinking of the stomach, and of material convenience; as though mankind were oxen to be comfortably stalled. Now, that sort of theories may do well enough with savages, but it won't commend itself to this civilized and spiritual Anglo-Saxon race of ours.

U. S. (swings his arms with a motion as though he were whisking a fish out of the water)—I landed my fish!

B. J. (surprised, looks around)—What fish?

U. S.—YOU!

B. J.—Me???

U. S.—I played you for bass; I let you have all the line you wanted; now I landed you; and I'm going to feast upon you.

B. J.—What are you driving at?

U. S.—Only ten minutes ago you denounced us Socialists as too ideal for our "hard, matter-of-fact Anglo-Saxon race!"

B. J. (under his breath)—The devil, so I did!

U. S.—And now you turn a somersault about and denounce us Socialists as too matter-of-fact for that identical "spiritual Anglo-Saxon" race of ours.

B. J. (muttering under his breath)—How he did play it on me!

U. S.—That's the way with all of you objectors to Socialism. Take rope and you hang yourselves. One minute we are too ideal,—just as the maggot may happen to bite you. Now, the fact is we are neither more material than a same man should be, nor more ideal than it is the duty of a civilized being to be. To uphold your capitalism, you are bound to make a monstrosity of out of man—either absurdly material, so as to oppose the spiritual aspirations of the Socialist; or absurdly, top-heavily ideal, so as to give a color to your opposition to the sane material basis of Socialism. Man is a compound of the material and the spiritual. But the former is the basis of the latter. Without material life, there is no possibility of intellectual life. A healthy mind in a healthy body is an unquestionable maxim.

B. J.—But—

U. S.—Shut up! tolerated your dishonest nonsense, long enough. Wait till I get through. The disagreement between the Socialists and you capitalists is not upon that maxim: you people see to your physical comfort too, and first of all: the difference between us lies in that your anxiety for the safety of your animal side has made you monomaniacally insane, it has turned you into cannibals; you would sacrifice the race so that your belly be full; you are like the miser, who, forgetting that he started to board up so that he may live, winds up with starving himself to death so that he may board up. Mr. Bass, you are ripped up! Good-bye, my "Anglo-Saxon!"

(U. S. walks away but before turning the corner he looks back, and sees B. J. kicking himself with both feet while muttering to himself: "The devil is in these Socialists; how they do see through us!")

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

together with other deposits it runs up to the goodly sum, that capitalists frequently need, and where they can get it at once, and if he so deposits his savings he immediately helps the big capitalists along and thus undermines the source of his surplus.

If, on the other hand, he does not earn enough to feed his body and mind properly, then he is only pinching himself, and it is the capping of folly to place his pinched savings where the capitalist can utilize them, through a loan from the bank to improve his machinery, thereby displace hands, and thereby reduce his wages still more. What sense is there in saving if one thereby undermines his health, reduces his life-time, and for every penny saved, must spend two in doctors and medicine? You will notice savings banks always cropping up right alongside of factories in factory towns, and the directors of the one are the directors of the other.

Put it into your marrow and your brain, and your family's marrow and brain: You will all need both.

G. W. ALTON, ILL.—Mr. J. M. Chase, newly elected Mayor of Joliet, Ill., has written to me, and in the above answer to Jim J. Chicago, and the editorial in this issue, "Two of a Kind." Moreover, numerous other facts, previously published in these columns, sufficiently dispose of the matter.

S. K. G. SAGINAW, MICH.—His place of birth is Saginaw, an island off the north coast of Venezuela; date, Dec. 14, 1852; size, 5 feet 5 inches; weight, 155 pounds; married, 4 children; 2 boys and 2 girls; eldest 15 years, youngest 6 months. Anything else you would like to know?

L. LOUISVILLE, KY.—You will notice in the clipping you sent that Mr. H. N. Casson carefully abstains from naming a good thing in human nature, to wit, that "if a strike is on he would take the place of the strikers and break the Union." His refraining from naming him reveals a good thing in human nature, to wit, that the most confirmed liar will recoil from uttering too many lies. Had he mentioned a name he would have been guilty of a lie within a lie; he would have had either to invent a name, or to mention a good name, or which would have been virtually the same thing, mention as a responsible party member, someone who is not, but why do you bother with what Mr. Casson says? Physically and intellectually a very weak man, his weapons are the weapons of such—skunkish.

C. E. W. WORCESTER, MASS.—1st. Let us have the passages (page numbers) where the man in question is named, so that we can explain them out of their context.

2nd. It might be well to furnish the men in the Washburn & Inven Wire Works with the pamphlet "What Means This Strike?"

G. W. S. PHILADELPHIA, PA.—You must be a very recent subscriber. The statement that the workingman gets only one-fourth of his product has been repeatedly explained. From the statisticians' calculations it appears that the workingman gets one-half of his product. But this half is the half of the whole sale value of the wealth he produces. When he has sold his product he has sold his wealth, he has to go to the retailer and there pay at retail rates. Thus he has to pay higher than the share he gets; thus even his half shrinks in purchasing capacity; the shrinkage is another half. For every 4 leaves that the working class produces, it gets only 1; the rest goes to the capitalist class.

J. A. D. PITTSBURGH, PA.—There are all sorts of "Christian Socialists." Taking under the microscope the most honest of the ideas of the genus, you will find the "Christian Socialist" to be a man who is charmed with the beauties of the Co-operative Commonwealth, and who, understanding social evolution, imagines that all that is needed to convert the capitalist class is to preach religion to them. There are other things that these "Christian Socialists" don't know. One of them is that there is not a capitalist in existence who allows religion to stand in the way of his less interested witness Rags making profits. If he had any doubts about the daughters and sons of his fellow capitalists, and these receiving such gifts as they would a horse.

A. S. VANCOUVER, B. C.—The explanation of the Social Reformer, rushing in, and without consulting the laws, attempt to reform the community is: Either he is a conceited fellow, imagining all that is needed is gab and rhetoric to the masses, or he is a fool. Or he proceeds on the principle of the late lamented P. T. Barnum, who said there was a sucker born every minute. These are the only things that these "Christian Socialists" don't know. One of them is that there is not a capitalist in existence who allows religion to stand in the way of his less interested witness Rags making profits. If he had any doubts about the daughters and sons of his fellow capitalists, and these receiving such gifts as they would a horse.

G. K. JOHNSTOWN, PA.—You and such as you only contribute to make the Social Question education. Think of such childishness as to imagine, and worse yet, to say that the "masses everywhere are deeply interested in the movement against treatment of the poor, going about with silly notions, that the cynic has in mind when he refers to those engaged in the Social Question as wild-eyed impracticables."

L. E. B. BERTRAND, NEB.—Put down the man who says he read 300 books on modern Socialism as a fraud.

A. COMRADE, N. Y.—Bound copies of THE PEOPLE are in this office, and are placed in libraries.

A. S. Brown will lecture next Tuesday, the 31st instant, at 8 p. m., on "Topics of the Day" at 65 Columbia street, this city.

S. L. P. Supplies.—Constitutions in English, German and Polish (with form).....50c. per 100

Constitution in Jewish (with form).....40c. per 100

Due Cards.....40c. per 100

Application Cards.....40c. per 100

Emblem Buttons (stud or pin) per doz.....25c.

Metal emblem pins (gift) per doz.....25c.

When ordering supplies, enclose the cash; it takes time to keep credit accounts, send out bills perhaps a number of times before collection is made, and all this time, postage and effort may be employed to a better purpose.

The emblem buttons and the pins are not sent out on credit under any circumstances. They are sold by the S. L. P. State Committee, which committee keeps no credit accounts of any kind.

Address all orders to: **HENRY KUHN,** 184 William street, New York.

The numerous calls that have come in for the New Bedford speech "What Means This Strike?" published in these columns some time ago, has determined the National Executive Committee to reprint it in pamphlet form. It can be had at the Labor News Company, 64 E. 4th street, this city. Single copies, 5 cents; 10 copies, 30 cents; 100 copies, \$2.50.

THE PEOPLE LIBRARY.—Published by the National Executive Committee, New York.

Vol. 1, No. 1, October, 1898.

THE SOCIALIST ALMANAC

AND

THE TREASURY OF FACTS

AND

THE HISTORY OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

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CONFLICTING WINDS.

A large crowd had filled the Pimples' Temple from wine cellar to steeple, as it had been announced that God's chosen volcano, the Rev. Jimmy Brady, would go into eruption at twelve o'clock. While a badly mixed quartette was meeting out justice to several unpopular selections, Harry Lloyd and the Irreverent gentleman sat devising plans whereby they might live, move and have their beans. "James," said Harry as he viciously decapitated a glass of "We don't patronize" at one deep chested blow, "how is business?"

"Bad, bad," said his fellow as he shook his head, crowned as it was with a venerable halo of cocoa-nut frosting; "I don't see why in Hades the Lord don't take better care of himself. I keep telling him to look out, or some Connaught man will come along and do him. It makes no difference, he still persists in running all kinds of risks."

"The strike business isn't what it was either," admitted Harry. "I don't know what we would do if lockouts hadn't been invented. By the way, that fellow Tobin is a lucky chap. He gets two big wrecks at a time when the chances are he will be one himself. If he didn't have those lockouts, what would the robin do then, poor thing? He might sit by the way-side and sing, and sing, but there would be none of the all necessary per caps in it."

Suddenly Harry bravely dived under the table and hid himself.

"By the great toe of Barondess," yelled J. Vold, "what is the matter with you? Are you off your love for the worker?"

Harry poked a very pale and much perturbed face from under the table, and carefully looked around the room. Then he gained courage to creep forth.

"Huh," he said bold as a lion, I thought I saw a Socialist. The miserable, cowardly, purse-proud, smug hypocrites, I defy them to frighten me."

"But," said James Buys, "I never saw a Socialist who was ever well dressed, or who was a coward."

"But," said Harry impatiently, "you don't think I would call a man what he is, do you? What is refinement of language for? To explain what is, or to make isn't appear what is? Go to, you know not the linguistic subtleties of which a born labor leader is capable. It is all a question of words, at so much per word. The skill comes in in speaking the word in the right place. Now, if I had said 'Yes' to the Republican party the same as Ross did, I might have more visible means of support. That is why I am as good a Socialist as you are. I am a Socialist, and don't you forget it, and then don't drop the ethics of the trade, what plans have you for the winter? Are you going to continue to give your great Mic-Mac Indian scalp dance?"

"I don't know," said the custodian of the safety of the universe, "some of the professional brothers are doing a good business with a farce called 'Weeping for the Worker.' There is B. Fay Mills who is a good all-round comedian, and with one soubrette he is able to play to full houses of just as good-as on the road-coming our way-broad-liberal-one thing at a don't believe in jumping Socialists as you could find anywhere in Boston, and you can find more of them in Boston than anywhere else. Why, there are some people there who call Carey a Socialist. Now then, Mr. Chase, we are out-and-out, and badly out Socialists. Now then, we go to the people and we say: 'Now then, and very little else. And Margaret Halle with her great personal experience is competent to change the name of the party if anyone is. Now then, we must work for the S. D. P. wing of Socialists, as said wing is only a feather in the cap of reactionary capitalist politics.'"

"You leave the workers alone," said Harry, knitting his broad and massive brow with a beautiful chain-stitch. "I've got a living to make, and you keep off my hunting ground."

"Well," said Mr. Brady, becoming sarcastic, "there is no danger of Megaphone-mouthed Harry going without a thing if he can get it by persistently yelling."

"Megaphone-mouthed! How about Mr. Brady in that respect? Why do they call you Blithery Bill? You just keep politics out of your union, old man, and don't get personal."

With that delicate bit of repartee, Harry arose and significantly tapped his forehead. James Boyd arose and scientifically tapped it, and tapped it with such force that it was several minutes before Harry could struggle to his feet again.

"The church has branded you a heretic," said James gravely, "our own special brand of heretic."

"You are worse than a S. L. P. man when he is on to you," said Harry, weeping bitterly. "You have attacked organized labor, and I shall declare a boycott and an assessment on the strength of it. Think of those millions who pay no dues. I plainly see that it is a conspiracy, and that I shall have to look for a steady job avoiding some new kind of work. This is the justice of a labor organization to me, after I have allowed it to support me all these years."

"Well, you can't eat your cake and have it," said James in a matter-of-fact way.

"Can't I? Who will have it then? Will you?" demanded Harry, a large sneer basking in the genial warmth of his nose. "I challenge you to prove it."

"There is no use in our fighting, because you would only be whipped. What we want to do is just go through our little knock-about sketch. You arouse the indignation of the people and make them cry. I arouse their holy aspirations and make them weep. Then we both send in our little bill. Have no fear, brother, did not Mr. Murray's manifest unfitness and well known dishonesty recommend him to a position where such things are out of place? The little birds in their nests agree excepting at meal time, and then they have a chance to differ as to which the worm would agree with. You scratch elsewhere and all will be harmony. Learn from the Social Democrat that you do not necessarily differ from a capitalist in aims simply because you abuse him. Let me imprint a coy kiss upon your classic brow, unwrinkled by the cares that fall to the

lot of those who must work for a living. I go, for the time for the collection is at hand. Slan lath, mo buachill-in duoh."

And after having several winks on one another, they parted company, as did the congregation and its change in a few minutes.

F. M. Stoneham, Mass.

Herding Instinct.

(Continued from page 2.)

became a necessary factor, and society advanced just in proportion to the growth of Communism, our learned editor notwithstanding. Our industry could not have assumed those gigantic proportions without a perfect subdivision of labor, which could only take root and flourish on the grave of individualism.

Indeed, the morbid greed of our modern shynock-carried the process too far already. The workman has so far lost his individuality that he became, as Marx properly calls him, an appendage of the machine, and I may add, an appendage which is becoming more and more atrophied from disuse. Only a knave or a fool can claim that our present system is based on individualism. Is our worthy editor blind to the fact that a man under the present conditions can not direct his education, select his occupation, arrange his time to suit his individual tastes, or even follow his inclinations in his private life? Where is that self-ownership, that individual liberty opposed to the "herding instincts" of those degenerate, the Socialists? Surely, not in our present society. How many have the liberty to disregard the morning factory whistle, the watching eye of the foreman and the rapid speed of the machine? How many can enjoy the bliss of "home sweet home"? Only those who are out of work can claim "self-ownership and individual liberty," but even they are locked up in the police stations as "tramps." Yes, in our "individualistic" society every member is tightly screwed up in the vice of circumstances, and individualism is crushed into pieces between the anvil of hunger and the hammer of capitalism.

There is at present no doubt in the mind of any man who examines critically the course of events, that society can only advance scientifically through the growth of Socialism. The colossal development of machinery necessitates a perfect subdivision of labor, while the fiercer struggle for existence makes a well-regulated community of primary importance to the individual. Socialism tends to develop individualism, but not that sickly, degenerate kind which, if it means anything at all, simply means chaos, but "self-knowledge self-ownership, individual responsibility and the fullest possible measure of individual liberty," all of which are essential to the progress of a community.

In the Socialist State each sensible member will discharge his obligations, voluntarily and not under the whip of a task-master, nor named capitalist.

A. R. Philadelphia, Pa.

General Agitation Fund.

Previously acknowledged.....\$806.92

L. E. Brown, Los Angeles, Cal.....50

C. E. Thompson, New York City.....1.00

Section Webster, Pa., per Hickey.....2.00

Section New Castle, Pa., per Hickey.....2.25

Section Massillon, O., per Hickey.....2.25

Section Canton, O., per Hickey.....5.00

Total.....\$880.58

Annual Concert and Ball

of Kings County Dram and Fide Corps, S. L. P., 388

on Sunday, Jan. 29th, 1899, at Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave.

Tickets 15 Cts. Commencing 8.30 p. m. All friends and sympathizers are invited.

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NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary Robert Handlow, 193 Champlain street, Cleveland, O.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Executive Committee—Secretary George Moore, 61 Ryde street, Montreal.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY—147 East 23rd street, New York City. (The party's literary agency.)

NOTICE.—For technical reasons, no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

National Executive Committee.

Session of Jan. 24, with A. S. Brown in the chair. All were present. The financial report for week ending Jan. 21 showed: receipts, \$150.12; expenditures, \$117.53.

The Advisory Board for the Labor News Company reported to have taken steps to complete the stock of the same; also that a more extended plan of advertising the Labor News Company will be put in operation. The functions of the Board were then defined. It is to control and regulate the business of the Labor News Company and its orders are to be transmitted to the manager by its secretary in writing; the National Executive Committee is to act as a Board of Appeals in all cases of dispute.

Section Dedham, Mass., reported the expulsion of William Durkee for admitted intention to vote for the Democratic candidate for Governor. The two Sections of Massachusetts, N. Y., reported to have amalgamated into one body with branches. Organizer Hickey reported successful agitation in Pennsylvania and Ohio. Communications were read from the controversy now going on in that Section. Both sides admit that the Wisconsin State Committee usurped the functions of the Section by trying to expel both sides of the Section from Milwaukee in plain violation of Sec. 7, Art. 2 of the party's constitution. Resolved, that such action being contrary to the constitution, is illegal and void; the only members under the jurisdiction of the State Committee are members at large attached to the State Committee and residing where no Section exists.

Section Atlanta, Ga., was reported organized and the new Section contemplates the publication of a local paper. Charters were granted to new Sections in: East Pittsburg, Pa.; No. 2, Wilkesbarre, Pa.; No. 3, Hamburg, Pa.; Fortuna, Cal.; Norwich, N. Y.

The Organizers of all S. L. P. Sections and Branches are herewith called upon, to place before the next regular meeting of their respective bodies the question of pushing the sale of the Socialist Almanac, see to it that some action is taken in regard to the matter and report the action thus taken to the National Executive Committee without delay. The Almanac has been published by the N. E. C. in obedience to the action of the National Convention and subsequent general vote, which action has placed upon the N. E. C. a heavy financial burden. It is necessary that the entire membership take action to relieve this burden, and if all do take hold, it will be an easy matter to overcome the present difficulty.

L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Secretary.

Massachusetts.

WORCESTER, Jan. 23, 1899.—The State Committee of the Socialist Labor Party met in this city on the 19th Jan., 1899, in room 3, 55 Main street, and elected the following Board of Officers: Chairman, Walter J. Hour; Recording Secretary, William Day; Financial and Corresponding Secretary, Leroy D. Usher; Treasurer, Albert Forstrom. List of members: Charles K. Hardy, Charles E. Willey, Charles E. Fenner, and John T. Harravere.

L. D. USHER, Secretary.

Sections Haverhill, Medford and Stoneham request the Massachusetts State committee to submit the following to a referendum vote:

1. Shall the S. C. C. be empowered to hire a competent person to organize throughout the State Sections of the S. L. P. and Alliances of the S. T. & L. A.?

2. Shall the S. C. C. be empowered to fix the wages of said organizer at not more than \$12.00 per week, and necessary expenses?

3. Shall the State form a society, which shall pay dues in order to meet the expense

incurred by the organizer, so that the burden may fall only upon those party members who feel able to bear the expense?

4. Shall the weekly dues be fixed at ten cents, each member to receive a due stamp issued by the S. C. C. as a receipt?

5. Shall the society be confined to organized towns and the Sections therein be given full control thereof?

6. Shall the Sections be given complete supervision of the finances of the society?

7. Will the Sections make nominations for the position of organizer, so that in the event of the State voting to have one, we may vote upon the candidates without delay?

One to be returned to S. C. C. on or before February 21, 1899. 554 Main street, room 3, Worcester, Mass.

Pennsylvania.

PHILADELPHIA.—A meeting of the Socialists of the 30th Ward will be held on Monday evening, Jan. 30, at Aurora Hall, northeast corner 6th street and Snyder avenue. At the conclusion of the speaking a Ward Club will be formed. Let all Socialists aid in starting this club off with a rousing meeting.

General Executive Board, S. T. & L. A.

A special meeting of the G. E. B. was held on Sunday evening, Jan. 22, at 184 William street, owing to the non-attendance of the members on the regular meeting night. Members present: Vogt, Wilson, Murphy, De Leon, Boudin, Luck and Brower, Murphy, Chairman.

Minutes of last session read and approved.

Communications: One from D. A. 12 of Philadelphia, Pa., stating that L. A. 28 had been suspended from that District until such time as they pay their indebtedness to the G. E. B.; one from Julian Hickey, informing the Board of a strike of miners at Myersdale, Md., and requesting that an organizer be sent there. The Secretary was instructed to write to the Section Baltimore in reference to this matter.

Communications were also received from St. Louis, Mo.; New Bedford, Mass.; Yonkers, N. Y.; from T. A. Hickey, Hontahale, Pa.; Dr. Bole, Pa.; Jeanette, Pa.; Atlanta, Ga.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Detroit, Mich.; Paterson, N. J., and New York City.

Charters were granted to the Textile Workers Alliance of Passaic, N. J.; Patucket Mixed Alliance, of Patucket, E. I.; and Garment Workers' Alliance of Buffalo, N. Y.

The Secretary informed the Board that L. A. 80, Paint Makers' Union of Brooklyn, formerly affiliated with D. A. 3, had been reorganized by D. A. 2. The Secretary was instructed to forward this Local bill of indebtedness for dues from September, 1898.

The committee on L. A. 81 reported that there was some conflicting statements made by members of this organization. Resolved, that the officers of this Local and the pressmen of the "Abendblatt" be summoned to attend the next meeting of the G. E. B.

Secretary reported that D. A. 4 of Newark, N. J., is now in working order. They will hold a mass meeting in the Essex Co. Socialist Club Rooms on Saturday evening, Feb. 4.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

W. L. BROWER, Secretary.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

Daily PEOPLE Minor Fund.

Previously acknowledged.....\$2,306.24

Collected at "Abendblatt" Ball, by "S. J. Mask".....1.06

S. J. Cooper, Los Angeles, Cal.....1.00

Louis Hudsky, 8th St., D. N. N.....1.00

A. Cook, Berier, Mo......50

Total.....\$2,308.00

The amount of \$20.40 was received for this fund on Jan. 3 from the Socialist Women's Society, N. Y. Owing to some technical reason, the acknowledgement did not appear in the issue of THE PEOPLE of Jan. 25, but the present total of the fund is correct and includes the foregoing and it being the only item that was to have appeared in that issue.

Press Fund for the Workers' Republic, Dublin, Ireland.

Previously acknowledged.....\$20.61

Section Denver, Colo., on list.....2.50

Section Lawrence, Mass., Branch 2, on list.....2.25

Total.....\$34.40

HENRY KUHN, Secretary.

GRAND LABOR FESTIVAL

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